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## WILLIAM PENN'S ESSAY TOWARDS THE PEACE OF EUROPE.

We publish in this and our next issue the full text of William Penn's "Essay towards the present and future Peace of Europe, by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates." The growing interest in permanent international treaties and a permanent tribunal of arbitration has awakened a strong desire on the part of many to know the history of thought and effort lying back of and leading up to the present movement for the substitution of law for war in the settlement of international disputes.

Prior to the publication of William Penn's Plan in 1693-94 there had been nothing approaching it in character, unless it be Henry the Fourth's "Great Design" about one hundred years earlier. French historians are divided in opinion as to whether Henry really formed any such Project as was attributed to him by the Duke of Sully, his Prime Minister, in whose *Economies Royales*, published many years after Henry's death, the Great Design is set forth with fulsomeness of praise.

No mention is made of it by any contemporary writer anywhere in Europe. Duruy attributes it to Sully himself and Kitchin inclines to think it a romance growing out of some basis of fact.

But whoever examines the Project, supposing it real, as it is expounded in the *Economies Royales*, or in the Abbé de l'Ecluse's Memoirs of Sully, Vol. III., Book 30, will soon convince himself that this Scheme and that of Penn, while having some features in common, are of entirely different types and spring from radically different principles. The root-cause of the Great Design was dislike and dread of the House of Austria, whose aggressions were at that time terrifying all Europe. France must be saved from further danger, as she had already been saved in part by Henry's victories over the Leaguers. The execution of the Design was to begin with the raising of a great army of more than three hundred thousand foot and horse collected among the states favoring Henry's Plan. The Emperor was to be compelled to abandon his usurpations and thereafter content himself with Spain and the Spanish provinces in the Mediterranean and the New World. The Infidels and Infidel Princes who would not accept the Christian religion were to be driven out of Europe. In a curious way reconciliation was to be made between Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism, the three prevailing forms of Christianity. No other form was to be allowed. In countries predominantly Catholic, the people were all to be forced to conform to Catholicism, or quit the country. Likewise in countries where either of the other cults predominated. Where they all, or two of them, existed in about equal proportions, all were to be tolerated, but in the proportions in which they then existed. All Europe was to be overhauled and reconstructed into fifteen states,—six hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies and four republics. These fifteen powers, constituted thus into the Christian Republic of Europe, were to create a Council General consisting of seventy members, which was to have the general oversight of the Civil, Political and Religious Affairs of Europe. The purpose of all this was said to be the peace of Europe! This aim, if such it was, was certainly a great one; but does anybody seri-

ously believe that the means, military and religious, to be employed, even if there had been an attempt at execution, could have carried the Scheme through even the first step towards realization?

William Penn may have owed the formal suggestion of his Plan to the Great Design, but that is all. His Essay grew really out of his pure regard for humanity, out of the principles of love, goodwill and peace which his acceptance of Quakerism had incorporated into his very being. It had the same origin as his "holy experiment" in the New World. Penn was pre-eminently a practical statesman. He believed in the applicability of his principles to state affairs. He had inaugurated his experiment in America some ten years before, and had seen it working with a fair measure of success. He wished to see the same principles tried in the larger affairs of Europe. He had before his eyes the success of the United Provinces just across the Channel, to Sir William Temple's History of which he acknowledges himself to be indebted. If he had had the power, as he had in his American colony, he would have wasted no time in mere words but would have at once organized his European Diet.

There was of course not the least chance at that period of his Plan being tried, though it attracted considerable attention. The dispositions of the sovereign princes and of the populations of Europe were all against it, the wasting wars of that time, which grieved Penn sorely, being the natural product of principles and feelings exactly the opposite of his own. His proposal had to wait for realization until a happier day when men should have learned to be more Christian and human. Has the time not yet come for the Peace of Europe, after two hundred years?

It seems improbable now that the Plan of Penn will be followed, even in form, much less in detail, in the establishment of international peace. The prime idea with him was the creation of an international parliament, or congress, which should exercise judicial functions as well as deliberative, and also act as a sort of committee of safety. This same idea was taken up by the advocates of peace in the earliest organization of the movement in the fore part of this century. In our own country the literature of the movement from 1815 down to the time of the Civil War was full of the idea of a Congress of Nations. Noah Worcester, William Ladd, W. E. Channing, Charles Sumner, Thomas C. Upham, Dr. Beckwith, Amasa Walker, and many others, believed such a parliament as that proposed by Penn not only desirable but every way feasible. But the repeated success of temporary commissions and courts of arbitration during this century in settling many kinds of international differences has gradually turned attention to the question of the adequacy and superior utility of purely judicial methods in

such cases. The discussion now is confined practically to the question of the relative merits of temporary and permanent tribunals, and a Congress of Nations is rarely mentioned any more. Some judicial system is now seen to be the simplest and most efficient method of bringing about permanent international peace, and everything seems tending to the early establishment of some such system, at least between some of the more civilized nations.

This does not however in the least lessen the merit of William Penn. His proposed permanent Diet had the judicial function; in fact, that was its chief feature; and to him belongs the distinguished honor of having proposed the first definite scheme, free from all taint of militarism, founded on purely rational and benevolent principles, for international co-operation in the peaceful adjustment of differences.

#### THE MEETINGS AT BUDA-PESTH.

The reports which we give elsewhere of the Peace Congress and the Interparliamentary Conference at Budapest the latter part of September are necessarily meagre, but they indicate that the proceedings were full of interest and importance. The Congress had rather more excitement than usual, but this was because of new elements among its membership and the tackling of questions like the duel which have not heretofore been admitted, but all of which must sooner or later be taken up in earnest by the friends of peace. The treatment of both the Congress and the Conference by the municipal and national authorities was exceptionally cordial and liberal. Numerous banquets occurred, which in their way are extremely useful in creating good feeling and cementing friendship. The European press gave good reports of the proceedings, the London *Chronicle* perhaps standing at the head in this respect, at least among papers outside of Hungary. The Congress could not avoid taking up the Turko-Armenian question, and dealt with it, as will be seen from the reports, as wisely as could have been expected.

We are surprised somewhat but greatly pleased that so strong a resolution against the duel was passed. There is nothing more remarkable in the great reform movements of history than the rapidity with which the peace propaganda has spread and strengthened itself right in the midst of the strongest and most tyrannous militarism ever known. It was at first ignored, then laughed at, but is now everywhere, except in Russia and Turkey, cordially welcomed and recognized as containing within itself the promise, found nowhere else, of the ultimate redemption of Europe from the curse of hate and force. The peace societies have recently multiplied with extraordinary rapidity, and won to the support of their principles many of the leading minds of Europe. The Interparlia-